

Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in Ancient Mythologies

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[1] References to eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus appear in the most ancient extant myths of humanity. These references and/or allusions, which are not numerous, nonetheless bespeak some acquaintance by diverse peoples with the area east of the Halys river and west of the Caspian Sea, an area including what is today central and eastern Turkey, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan. Trade and migrations were the two principal conduits by which goods and people passed to and from this area, and impressions were left in the early literature of the Greeks, Mesopotamians, Hurrians and Indo-Iranians. Archaeological evidence confirms the existence of trade relations between the southern shore of the Black Sea and Greek city-states in the 9-5th centuries B.C. (1). Areas south of the Armenian highlands, as well, provide archaeological evidence for trade with parts of the highlands even farther back, as early as the 8th millennium B.C. (2). Migrations of peoples from eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus to lands to the south, east, and west, are the other likely source for references to this area in mythology. Evidence of migrations, however, is not complete and controversy surrounds every aspect, from the participants and the languages they spoke, to their motives, and especially the directions of the migrations (3).

This study examines the geographical references and allusions to eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus in the ancient myths of the Greeks, Sumerians, Hurrians, Iranians, and Indians, and analyzes the images they define. During the past century, [2] significant comparative analysis has been done on the Armenian and Georgian *deities* and their would-be counterparts in the pantheons of neighboring societies. The works of scholars such as the Armenists Abeghian, Adontz, Ananikian, Karst, Khalatians', and Matikian, and the Caucasiologists Allen, Charachidze, Grigolia, Inadze, and Tseretheli, belong in this category (4). Similarly, the works of mythologists such as W. Burkert, G. Dumézil, and K. Kerényi have at their base comparative analyses of *deities*, their functions, and the shared themes found in western and eastern mythologies (5). The geographical focus adopted in the present study both expands the volume of pertinent source material and, simultaneously, frees it from the requirement of having to possess some echo in the extant mythologies of the Armenians and Georgians.

Before turning to an examination of the relevant myths, two topics must be discussed briefly for the light they shed on the myths themselves: (1) the ecology of the area in antiquity, and (2) difficulties involved with using mythological material for research in general. During the third through first millennia B.C., when most of the myths discussed below evolved, eastern Asia Minor differed in important ways from its modern incarnation. First, many now-extinct or dormant volcanoes were then active. The two Ararats, Aragats, Nemrut, Suphan, Rewanduz, and Savalan were among the more prominent volcanoes spewing molten lava and rocks into the night sky, surely stimulating the awe and imaginations of observers. Second, the flora and fauna were richer in this early period. Large parts of the area were covered with forests so dense that later [3] Akkadian sources (8th century B.C.) describe Sargon's troops having to literally hack their way in. Herds of wild elephants roamed in the Van-Urmiah area and as far west as the Euphrates river, while throughout eastern Asia Minor there was a profusion of types of birds, fish, bears, and mountain cats no longer found there. Not only were the flora and fauna richer in antiquity relative to the present but, in antiquity, this area was richer relative to its contemporary neighbors. Because of its favorable cool climate, eastern Asia Minor was home to prized varieties of hardwood trees essential for building, trees which did not grow in the hotter Mesopotamian lands to the south (6). According to the naturalist V. Hehn, quite a number of plants and animals passed from or

through this area to lands to its west and south (7). In addition to such botanical and biological diversity, eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus were (and remain) blessed with great mineral wealth. The abundance of copper, iron, gold, silver, lead and zinc, and their presence in outcroppings of rocks which did not require extensive mining, led to the early development of metallurgy here (8). In the past sixty years, some scholars have suggested that the horse-drawn war chariot was developed or perfected in eastern Asia Minor (9). Built from native hardwoods and strengthened with metal alloys, this invention gave the local populations such a military advantage that they were easily able to subdue or control their neighbors, who fought as horseless infantry. In the view of a recent study, sometime in the second millennium B.C., bands of armed warriors, riding in horse-drawn chariots left eastern Asia Minor, eventually reaching Greece, the Levant, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Iran, and India (10). During the past two centuries, hypotheses which [4] make central and eastern Asia Minor a point of diffusion have enjoyed popularity among certain historians, linguists, archaeologists, botanists and others (11). Whatever the validity of the diffusionist hypotheses, the features of ancient Asia Minor and the Caucasus mentioned above: volcanic activity, dense forests, botanical and biological diversity, and metallurgical advances are clearly reflected in the myths referring or alluding to this area.

Finally, a few words are in order about using mythological material for research in general. First, there is no consensus concerning the meaning, significance, or purpose of myths. Are myths a society's equivalent of an individual's dreams or fantasies? Are they *belles-lettres* intended to be read and enjoyed or epic utterances recited on important occasions? How reliable are they for historical and/or economic information? Answers to such often unanswerable questions vary from myth to myth. Clearly, it is the richness and multifaceted nature of many of the earliest myths which has contributed to their popularity and durability, and has permitted diverse investigators from Stith Thompson to Sigmund Freud to find in them reflections of their own categories (12). Second, despite the fact that this study follows the traditional designation of myth as "Greek," "Sumerian," etc., the actual origins of the oldest myths are unknown. The *Theogony* of the 8th-7th century B.C. Greek author Hesiod is a case in point. For generations regarded as an original early Greek account of the origin of the gods, it today is considered a Greek reworking of a Middle Eastern myth (13). A number of other Greek myths have also been paired with Middle Eastern sources (14). The Gilgamesh cycle [5] of stories is an example of another type of difficulty. Considered a Sumerian creation, versions exist in several Middle Eastern languages—each version substituting local names for the cities, mountains, and rivers found in the exemplar (15). A myth such as "Jason and the Argonauts" illustrates yet another problem. This myth, which is merely alluded to by Homer in the 8th century B.C. clearly predates him, but by how much? Fifty years, five hundred years? Because of such considerations and the present limits of archaeology, it is impossible to accurately date most of the mythological material presented below.

This exposition will examine the following topics under the general headings of Greek, Middle Eastern (Sumerian/Akkadian, Hurrian), and Indo-Iranian mythology: myths concerning Aia, the Caucasus, the land of the Arimi, the Amazons, Mount Mashu, Aratta, Kumiya, Zalpa, Airyanem Vaejah and the Arax River. The major primary sources, which are discussed in greater detail where appropriate, include, for the Greek section, the *Odyssey*, and *Iliad*, of the 8th-century B.C. Greek poet Homer, the *Theogony* of the 8th-7th century Hesiod, the *Odes* of the 6th-5th century Pindar, *Prometheus Bound* by the 5th-century Aeschylus, and the *Argonautica* by the third-century Apollonius of Rhodes; for the Middle Eastern section, the third-second millennia cycles of stories about the heroes Gilgamesh, Enmerkar, and Kumarbi; and for the Indo-Iranian section, the *Rig Veda* and the *Avesta*, both generally assigned to the mid-second millennium B.C.

Greek Mythology

Myths Concerning Aia

[6] Aia was a kingdom located in the southeastern corner of the Black Sea. References to it appear in the myths of "Phrixus and the Ram," "Jason and the Argonauts," and Circe, in book ten of the *Odyssey*. Caucasiologists such as M. Inadze, followed by W.E.D. Allen and C. Toumanoff equate the name Aia with the Hayassa-Azzi tribes then living on territory including Sinope and Trebizond on the southern shore of the Black Sea and extending northeast through the Kola highlands to the Phasis river. This historical state disappeared in the 8th century B.C. under attack from Urartu to its south and, probably, from Cimmerians invading from the north. Its successor was called Colchis, known to the Urartians as Qulha and to the Georgians as Kola. Greek mythographers after the 7th century B.C. have replaced Aia with Colchis, or have transformed Aia into the capital city of Colchis and/or have moved it to the island of Sicily. The 8th-century Homer, however, uses the term Aia, not Colchis, and understands by it the southeastern corner of the Black Sea, not Sicily (16). According to the myths mentioned above, Aia was ruled by King Aeetes (a son of Helios, the sun god, and Perse, a daughter of Oceanus). Aeetes was the brother of Circe and Pasiphae and the father of Chalcioppe, Media, and a son, Apsyrtus. As offspring of the sun, the Aiakids were immediately recognizable by their fiery eyes (17).

Several generations of Greek heroes had dealings with Aia and Aeetes. First was Phrixus, who was brought to Aia by air on the [7] back of a divine talking ram with golden fleece. Upon arriving in Aia, Phrixus sacrificed the ram and hung its radiant fleece on a mighty oak tree in a grove sacred to the god Ares. The spirit of the ram flew into the firmament becoming the constellation Aries (the Ram). Phrixus was welcomed by Aeetes, married his daughter, Chalcioppe, and fathered several children. There are different accounts of Phrixus' end. Some have him die in Aia in deep old age, others have him murdered by Aeetes (18).

Aia, Aeetes, and his family appear again in the well known story of Jason and the Argonauts, one of the oldest of Greek myths. Although the most complete account appears in a relatively late work of Apollonius of Rhodes, the *Argonautica* (third century B.C.), the story already was in circulation at the time Homer wrote (eighth century B.C.), since he alludes to it as if universally familiar (19). In this myth, Jason, accompanied by the most celebrated heroes of classical Greece, traveled by ship from Thessaly to Aia. The purpose of the trip was a seemingly impossible task: to return with the Golden Fleece left in Aia by Phrixus. Jason determined first to simply ask Aeetes for the Fleece; if denied, he then would steal it.

Aeetes cunningly agreed to give up the Golden Fleece if Jason could pass a test of strength: he must yoke fire-breathing bulls to a plow, plow up a field with them, sow dragon's teeth in the field, and kill the warriors who sprang up from the teeth. Jason, however, was not working alone. The entire mission of the Argonauts was under the divine protection of the goddess Hera. Hera caused Aeetes' daughter, Medea, to fall in love with Jason, and thus it was with Medea's help that Jason succeeded. [8] But despite Jason's success, King Aeetes had no intention of relinquishing the fleece. The very night of Jason's triumph, Medea, fearing her father's treachery, led the Argonauts to the grove of Ares where the fleece was kept, guarded by a dragon or snake. Medea lulled the dragon to sleep while Jason seized the fleece from the oak Phrixus had nailed it to long before. Then the Argonauts, with Medea, set sail from Aia on their return voyage to Greece (20).

Aia appears again in book ten of Homer's *Odyssey*. Here the story concerns not King Aeetes but his sister, Circe. Homer places Circe on an island named Aia which he does not further locate. However, based on the placement of the Circe episode in the story and other details, Circe's Aia appears to be in the same general

area as Aeetes' kingdom, and perhaps belongs to an early cycle of stories about Aia (21). Odysseus, whose last remaining ship docked at Aia, sent half his men to Circe's stone house, seeking hospitality. Instead, the noted sorceress transformed the crew into animals. Through the divine intervention of Hermes, Odysseus was able to compel Circe to transform his men back to their original forms. After a romantic dalliance lasting a year, Odysseus and his crew set sail from Aia (22).

The myths of Aia described above have long been seen as reflections of contact between Greeks and Caucasians. Whether they reflect the historical trading colonies of the 7th century B.C., or a still earlier period of contact in the mid second millennium B.C. is a subject of scholarly debate which further archaeological discoveries may clarify (23). While western classicists naturally have focused on the arrival of the Greeks in the Caucasus, the legend of the Argonauts also describes movement in the other direction. [9] Thus, Phrixus' sons set out to return from Aia to Greece to claim their grandfather's estate (24). Aeetes' kingdom had a large armada which was able to pursue the Argonauts out of the Black Sea, and able to invade Hellas if the king chose (25). Some of the Aiaian sailors are said to have settled in various distant countries, fearing return to Aia (26). Medea also left her country and migrated west. Circe's son, Telegonus, travelled from Aia to Greece, then back to Aia. The myths also describe a physical union of Greeks and Caucasians. Phrixus' sons by Chalciope, Medea's sons by Jason, and Circe's son by Odysseus are examples.

Certain symbols are associated with Aia in these myths. First, there is a definite connection with metals and metallurgy, be it the Golden Fleece itself; the image of Aeetes, son of the Sun in his glittering golden helmet (27); or his palace full of mechanical marvels made by Hephaestus, god of metalworking (28). Second, the strong and independent royal women of Aia are shown as practitioners of magic/medicine. Both Medea and her aunt Circe have extensive knowledge of the local pharmacopoeia, which is accurately reflected in these myths (29). Thus, it is due to a magic ointment which Medea gives to Jason that he is able to yoke the bulls, plow the field, and defeat the men sown from dragon's teeth (30). After this battle, it is due to another of Medea's drugs that the sleepless dragon guarding the Golden Fleece is lulled to sleep and Jason is able to take the fleece (31). Medea, during her subsequent adventures in Greece, continued to concoct poisons and medicines (32). [10] Circe, Medea's aunt, is the sorceress *par excellence* in Greek mythology. She transformed half of Odysseus' men into pigs by putting a drug into their wine, and later restored the crew to human forms using a different drug. Still another Aiakid, Pasiphae, sister of Aeetes and Circe, exhibited similar talents (33). Several scholars have observed a connection between Aia and the underworld (34). Medea was a priestess of Hecate, a goddess of the underworld. Her father, Aeetes, in the view of K. Kerényi, is a king of the underworld, related to Hades (or Aides) (35). An association between Aia and the entrance to the underworld is also suggested by Odysseus' visit to the underworld on instructions from Circe, and his expected return to Aia upon emerging (36).

Myths Concerning the Caucasus and the "Land of the Arimi"

Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus appear in the myths of two related deities, Prometheus and Hephaestus, who are primarily gods of metallurgy. The story of Prometheus is one of few Greek myths to mention the Caucasus directly: Prometheus was chained to a cliff on a mountain in the Caucasus, sometimes identified with Mt. Elburz. Sources for this myth are Hesiod (8th-7th century B.C.) and later authors, especially the drama *Prometheus Bound* by Aeschylus (ca. B.C. 525-456). According to these accounts, Prometheus was a son of the Titan Iapetus. All the Titans had been defeated by Zeus except for Prometheus who had been neutral in the battle Zeus fought against the pre-Olympian deities. As the new law-giver and ruler of the

universe, Zeus resolved to destroy humanity and create a better race. But Prometheus championed the humans whom, some versions say, he [11] himself had been the first to mold from clay. Not only did Prometheus spare his creations, but he taught them and tried to improve their lives. Among his gifts were skills such as brick-making, wood-working, astronomy, alphabets, domestication of animals, the chariot (37), the boat, medicine, divination/prophecy, as well as the discovery of the metals bronze, iron, silver, and gold (38).

The gift that Prometheus is best known for is fire. He stole fire from heaven or from Hephaestus' workshop, hid it in a stalk of fennel, and brought it down to earth (39). For this, a furious Zeus had Prometheus chained to a mountain and daily sent an eagle to peck at his liver. During the 30,000 years that he endured this torment, Prometheus is visited by the daughters of Oceanus, Oceanus himself, Io, and Hermes. Eventually he is freed by the efforts of Heracles (40). Prometheus' claim to have discovered metals, his gift of fire (enabling forging), the repetition of iron imagery in the myth, and his own lineage as a pre-Olympian god suggests his origins in the Iron Age as a god of mining. His description of his place of imprisonment as the "mother of iron" (41) confirms that the Greeks associated the eastern Black Sea area and/or the Caucasus with the birth of metallurgy.

Frequently associated with Prometheus is the god Hephaestus (Roman Vulcan). In some myths he is Prometheus' nephew or work mate, in some versions of myths, one god substitutes for the other (42). According to Homer, Hesiod, and Apollonius of Rhodes, Hephaestus was a master craftsman, artist, and creator of marvels (43). In his workshop, [12] which was staffed by robots, twenty bellows worked spontaneously at his bidding. He made Achilles' armor; the fatal necklace of Harmonia; the fire-breathing bulls of Aeetes and the hydraulic fountains in the royal palace of Aia. A very reluctant Hephaestus was ordered to chain Prometheus to the mountain. According to Hesiod, Hephaestus, upon Zeus' orders, created the first woman, Pandora, from earth and water (44).

Hephaestus' connection to the Armenian highlands extends beyond his association with Prometheus and Aia, to the location of his workshop. While the 6-5th century poet Pindar placed Hephaestus' workshop on the volcanic Mt. Aetna in Sicily (45), the earlier Homer and Hesiod point to eastern Asia Minor. It was there, in the "land of the Arima" that a volcanic fire-monster named Typhoeus was finally defeated by Zeus (46). Zeus then hurled a mountain named Aidna on top of the monster. Hephaestus' workshop sat on top of this volcano and perhaps was fed by its flames. Some believe that the "land of the Arima" or Arimi which Homer calls the "couch of Typhoes" may be a reference to either the Armen or the Aramaean tribes to the west of Lake Van before the 8th century B.C. (47). In the view of many scholars, Aidna, despite Pindar's later story, is probably not to be identified with Aetna (48). Also associated with Hephaestus' workshop and with early metallurgy are the one-eyed giants called Cyclopes (49).

The land of the Arimi and eastern Asia Minor generally is considered the birthplace of a significant number of such multi-headed or hybrid monsters as the Chimera (a fire-breathing goat-lion-snake), the Hydra, the hounds Cerberus and Orthus, the Sphinx, the Nemean lion, and the Crommyonian sow. These were Typhoeus' offspring by [13] Echidna, a monster described by Hesiod as half nymph, half snake (50).

In the view of R.D. Barnett, the harpies (bird-monsters with women's heads) also relate to the area of our interest. Barnett believes that the harpies of Greek mythology ultimately derived from the ornaments on Urartian bronze caldrons:

These made such an impression in Greece that they seem to have given rise to the siren type in archaic Greek art, and as they appeared to flutter at the rim of such noble cooking vessels, apparently gave rise to the familiar Greek legend of Phineus and the Harpies, who are thus depicted in Greek art. The very name of Phineus, the victim of their persecutions, may be nothing but a corruption of the name of a king of Urartu, Ishpuinish or Ushpina (ca. 820 B.C.), who was perhaps associated by the Greek merchants with these vessels (51).

In these myths the dragon, too, has some special connection to eastern Asia Minor. The unsleeping dragon which guarded the Golden Fleece was another child of Typhoeus. Aeetes had Jason sow a field with dragon's teeth; and winged dragons pulled the chariot of Aeetes' daughter, Medea.

The Amazons

The Amazons are associated with both the Caucasus and Asia Minor. According to the dramatist Aeschylus, these women warriors originally lived someplace in the Caucasus, and subsequently migrated south to the northern coast of Asia Minor (52). Here, in an area somewhat coterminous with Aia, they established a state, with the city of Themiscyra (between Sinope and Trebizond) as its capital. They worshipped Ares as god of war and Artemis as goddess of virginity and female strength. They reproduced by mating with neighboring peoples, then rearing only the girls. [14] The name Amazon was interpreted by the Greeks to mean "Breastless", and legends claimed that the Amazons cut off and cauterized the right breasts of their daughters, so that they might better draw the bow (53).

Among Greek heroes to clash with the Amazons were Bellerophon, Heracles, and Theseus. As a result of the abduction of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons (or her sister) by Theseus, Amazons supposedly went as far as Attica in pursuit. Homer describes how another Amazon queen, Penthesileia, aided Priam in the Trojan War (54). Much earlier, Jason and his Argonauts, *en route* to Aia, had eluded an inevitable battle with the Amazons through divine intervention (55).

There is a wide spectrum of opinion about the existence of the Amazons, ranging from complete dismissal as fantasy to complete acceptance as historical reality. There is also an abundant literature on the topic, extending back to Classical writers, many of whom doubted the existence of Amazons. In the middle of the spectrum are the rationalizers who found in these myths remembrances of the matrilineal societies, or societies where women fought alongside men, encountered by Greeks in the eastern Black Sea. A. H. Sayce, one of the 19th-century excavators of Van, thought that the Amazons were priestesses of the Mother goddess Ma/Artemis/Anahit whose cult was especially associated with Asia Minor (56). While Sayce associated the name Amazon with the goddess Ma, Joseph Karst related it to a putative *hamazuni*, deriving from Amasia, descendant of the Armenian patriarch Hayk (57). [15] It is also possible that legends of an exclusively women's society derive from an apparently widespread cult of the sacred bee with a female priesthood, known from Melitene/Malatya, the Trebizond area, and parts of the Caucasus. The legends may also be connected with the Maenades, the armed and sometimes dangerous female devotees of the god of intoxication Dionysus/Bacchus, who is also associated with eastern Asia Minor (58).

The Greek myths reviewed above have a familiarity with the Black Sea coast (Aia and the Amazons) and the area west of Lake Van (the Arimi). Images relating to metallurgy and mechanical marvels are associated with both areas. Specifically attached to the seemingly more familiar north are images of powerful women, magic/medicine/drugs, and the underworld. References to horse and chariot appear in interesting details of these myths (59). Associated with the volcanic Lake Van area are fire-breathing monsters and hybrid animals. The Greek myths also reveal a noteworthy consistency regarding their *dramatis personae*. There is a definite clustering of the deities, heroes, and heroines relating to eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus into several genealogical lines, all of which derive from the most ancient pre-Olympian gods, the Titans. These are: (1) the line of Cronos, including his descendants Demeter, Poseidon, Hephaestus, Ares, Hebe, Persephone, and Hades; (2) the line of Iapetus, including his descendants Prometheus, Deucalion, Bellerophon, Aeson, Jason,

Phrixus and Helle, and Castor and Polydeuces; (3) the line of Hyperion, including his son Helios and his descendants Aeetes, Circe, and Pasiphae; and (4) the Cyclopes, the smiths of Zeus.

Middle Eastern Mythology

Mount Mashu

[16] To the Sumerians, Mashu was a sacred mountain. Its name means "twin" in Akkadian, and thus was it portrayed on Babylonian cylinder seals—a twin-peaked mountain, described by poets as both the seat of the gods, and the underworld (60). References or allusions to Mt. Mashu are found in three episodes of the Gilgamesh cycle which date between the third and second millennia B.C.

Mashu was located in a forest in the "land of the Living," where the names of the famous are written (61). It is alluded to in the episode "Gilgamesh and Humbaba." In this story, Gilgamesh and his friend, Enkidu, travel to the Cedar (or Pine) Forest which is ruled over by a demonic monster named Humbaba. While their motives for going to the Forest included gaining renown, it is also clear that they wanted the timber it contained. Humbaba, who had been appointed by the god Enlil to guard the Forest, is depicted as a one-eyed giant with the powers of a storm and breath of fire, perhaps the personification of a volcano (62). It is only with the help of another god, and a magically forged weapon that Gilgamesh triumphs over Humbaba. But before his battle, Gilgamesh and Enkidu gaze in awe at the mountain called "the mountain of cedars, the dwelling-place of the gods and the throne of Ishtar" (63). They climb onto the mountain, sacrifice cereals to it, and, in response, the mountain sends them puzzling dreams about their futures (64). When they begin to fell trees, Humbaba senses their presence and, enraged, fixes his eye of death on the pair. [17] Although Gilgamesh finally defeats the monster, Enkidu eventually weakens and dies from Humbaba's gaze and curse (65). In addition to its reputation as the "land of the Living," this forest is also a way to the underworld or the other world. For right after killing Humbaba, Gilgamesh continues in the forest and "uncovered the sacred dwelling of the Anunaki"—old gods who, like the Greek Titans, had been banished to the underworld (66). Furthermore, Gilgamesh seems to go into a death-like trance here (67); and in the same general region, the goddess Ishtar, whom Gilgamesh spurned, threatened to break in the doors of hell and bring up the dead to eat with the living (68).

Mashu is mentioned directly in the episode "Gilgamesh and the Search for Everlasting Life." This story unfolds after the death of Gilgamesh's friend, Enkidu, a wrenching experience which makes Gilgamesh face his own mortality and go searching for eternal life. It is *en route* to Utnapishtim, the one mortal to achieve immortality, that Gilgamesh comes to Mashu "the great mountain, which guards the rising and setting sun. Its twin peaks are as high as the wall of heaven and its roots reach down to the underworld. At its gate the Scorpions stand guard, half man and half dragon; their glory is terrifying; their stare strikes death into men, their shining halo sweeps the mountains that guard the rising sun" (69). Gilgamesh is able to convince the Scorpion-people to open the gate and let him enter the long tunnel through the mountains. Eventually Gilgamesh emerges from the tunnel into a fantastic Garden of the gods, whose trees bear glittering jewels instead of fruit (70).

In the view of several scholars, Mashu is also the mountain mentioned in the story that Utnapishtim told Gilgamesh. [18] Utnapishtim, sometimes called the "Sumerian Noah," told Gilgamesh how the gods had become angered with humanity and decided on the Flood as one means to exterminate it. A sympathetic god

warned Utnapishtim and told him to build a boat and board it with his family, relatives, craftsmen, and the seed of all living creatures (71). After six days of tempest and flood, Utnapishtim's boat grounded on a mountain. He released a dove and a swallow, both of which returned to him. Then he released a raven, which did not return. Utnapishtim and his family came down from the mountain. When the disgruntled gods are finally reconciled with the re-emergence of humanity, Utnapishtim and his wife are taken by the god Enlil to live in the blessed place where Gilgamesh found him "in the distance, at the mouth of the rivers" (72).

In his classic study, *Armenia in the Bible*, father Vahan Inglizian compared the above myths with the Biblical accounts of the Garden of Eden (Gen. 2) and the Flood (Gen. 7-8), both of which he sited in eastern Asia Minor (73). Accepting Lehmann-Haupt's equation of the tunnel through Mashu with the naturally occurring subterranean Tigris tunnel near Bylkalein, Inglizian suggested that Mashu should be sought in the Armenian Taurus mountain range, south of Lake Van (74). It is in this same southern area, rather than at Mt. Ararat, that many scholars, including Inglizian, place the mountain of Noah (Gen. 8.4) (75). Inglizian suggested that the phrase "at the mouth of the rivers" describing the blessed land where Utnapishtim lived, should be understood to mean "at the sources of the [Tigris and Euphrates] rivers" (76). This heavenly Dilmun of Mesopotamian mythology was later identified with Bahrain on the Persian Gulf (77).

Aratta

[19] Aratta was a city, city-state, or country with which Sumerians had close trade and religious ties in the third millennium B.C. Its location is not known. Of four general sites suggested for Aratta, two are located in eastern Asia Minor: the Van-Urmia area and the Ayarat district of historical Armenia. The Anshan-Hamadan area of western Iran was the choice of S. Cohen who translated one of four sources to mention Aratta, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*. However, since the publication of that work (1973), several of the criteria he used for locating Aratta have been challenged (78).

Aratta, apparently, was under the special protection of the Sun god's daughter, Inanna, the goddess of love and war. In "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta," the goddess and/or her statue were taken from Aratta to the Sumerian city of Uruk by the ruler of Uruk, Enmerkar. Now believing himself to have the goddess' protection, the Sumerian king challenged the lord of Aratta. Enmerkar ordered him to send to Sumer precious metals, precious stones, building materials and the craftsmen to transform them into shrines (79). The lord of Aratta is willing to provide the materials if Enmerkar will send him large amounts of barley. When the barley arrives in Aratta, its lord unexpectedly refuses to fulfill his part of the agreement. After ten years, Enmerkar again sends his herald to Aratta. This time, the lord of Aratta challenges Enmerkar to select one of his champions to fight in single combat with one of Aratta's champions. Enmerkar accepts. Because his response was lengthy and his herald was "heavy of mouth," Enmerkar inscribed his message on [20] clay tablets and sent them to Aratta with his herald. The poet implies that this was the beginning of writing (80). However, at this point the famine, which apparently had been plaguing Aratta, lifts and Aratta's ruler takes courage, believing Inanna had not really abandoned him. Although the ending is fragmentary, Aratta eventually seems to provide the materials and craftsmen.

In a second Sumerian myth, "Enmerkar and Ensuhkeshdana," the lord of Aratta demands the submission of Enmerkar, king of Uruk, and the return of the goddess Inanna to her home in Aratta. Enmerkar refuses and demands Aratta's submission. The lord of Aratta consults with his advisors who urge him to capitulate, which he angrily refuses to do. Then his priest comes forward and boasts that he will subdue Uruk and other territories through magic. The lord of Aratta delightedly rewards the priest and sends him to Uruk. But the priest is assassinated there; and the lord of Aratta submits to Uruk (81).

Aratta is mentioned again in a third, briefer story known as "Lugulbanda and Enmerkar." In this myth, Enmerkar of Uruk is under military attack from the Martu people. Enmerkar desperately sends his messenger, Lugulbanda, to Aratta to the goddess Inanna, here called his sister. Inanna's response is unclear (82). However, it appears that Aratta again supplied Enmerkar with metals, precious stones, and craftsmen; and there is a suggestion that the materials were transported to Uruk by river (83). Finally, Aratta appears in a fourth myth, "Lugulbanda and Mount Hurum." Enmerkar and his army are traveling to Aratta to make it a vassal state. *En route* they stop at Mount Hurum where Lugulbanda becomes ill and "dies." His comrades place his body on Mount Hurum, [21] intending to retrieve it after their war in Aratta. However, Lugulbanda was not really dead. After praying to the sun, moon, and the star Venus, he emerges from his trance and wanders the highlands. Unfortunately, the ending of this story is lost (84).

The four myths outlined above portray Aratta as a wealthy and militarily powerful state with which Sumer had relations from very early times. It was located some distance from Sumer and protected by its forbidding mountains, but it was not so distant as to prevent trade relations. Aratta had building materials, precious stones, metals and craftsmen skilled in their transformation. Aratta also had primacy with regard to the religion of the mother goddess, Inanna, who resided in Aratta, was the patron of that state, and was taken or lured south to Sumerian cities. Uruk and Aratta also were in contest for military superiority—each demanding the submission of the other. The method of transporting the "stones of the mountain" from Aratta to Uruk and of transporting grain from Uruk to Aratta seems consistent with such trade historically between the Armenian highlands and areas to its south, namely, by boat from Aratta south, and by pack animal from Uruk north. If Aratta is indeed located in eastern Asia Minor, the general implication of the Aratta cycle of myths is that Aratta played a seminal role in the development of religion in Sumer, as well as in the construction of its cult structures; and that trade and diplomacy between the two states was of such importance that writing was developed specifically for them.

Kummiya/Qumme

[22] The city of Kummiya appears in the mythology of the Hurrian-speaking populations dwelling around Lake Van. This city, which has not been positively identified, is described as the home of the Hurrian weather god, Tessub, and the city which Ullikummi, the stone monster, was created to destroy. R. T. O'Callaghan, in his study, *Aram Naharaim*, suggested that Kummiya should be sought "somewhere between the Tigris and Lake Van" (85). Igor Diakonoff placed it, generally, on the Upper Zab river (86).

The story of Ullikummi is one episode in a cycle of related "songs" about the god Kumarbi. Kumarbi's overarching aim was to overthrow the weather god, Tessub, who was, through a curious circumstance, his own son (87). Kumarbi tries to achieve his end by producing monsters capable of destroying Tessub. First, Kumarbi and his wife, Sertapsuruhi, bear the dragon (or serpent) Hedamu. But Tessub's sister, Sauska/Ishtar, seduces and neutralizes Hedamu (88). Then Kumarbi has sexual intercourse with a rock cliff. The result of that union was a genderless, deaf, blind, yet sentient pillar of volcanic rock named Ullikummi. To hide Ullikummi during its "minority," Kumarbi has it taken to the underworld. Ullikummi is perched on the shoulder of Ubelluri, an Atlas-like figure who is holding up the world and does not seem to notice the additional weight. Ullikummi begins to grow like Jack's Beanstalk. Soon it emerges from the underworld into a body of water. The Sun God on his rounds sees this baleful phenomenon and quickly reports it to Tessub (89).

Tessub, his brothers and sister Sauska/Ishtar go up onto Mt. Hazzi and view the ever-growing monster in panic (90). [23] Once again, Tessub's sister tries to seduce the monster, but this time she is literally romancing

a stone, and is unable to stop Ullikummi. By now, Ullikummi has grown up into the land of the gods itself, and is blocking the doorway of Tessub's wife, Hebat. "It took its stand before the gate of the city of Kummiya (Tessub's city) like a shaft" (91). The crisis is finally ended by Ea, the god of wisdom. Ea visits the place of the ancient primeval gods, gets from their storehouse a copper cutting instrument "which was used to separate the earth and the sky," and, using it, cuts Ullikummi from Ubelluri's shoulders (92).

Zalpa/Zalpuwa

Zalpa has been tentatively located on the southern Black Sea coast, in the general vicinity of Sinope and Trebizond. As the translator of the Hurrian myth referencing this city points out, the story has a tantalizing connection to the Amazons whom Greek mythographers placed in this very area. The following fragment seems to refer to the "Amazonian" practise of rearing only female children, though it is also possible that the protagonist is a bee rather than a human:

[The Queen] of Kanesh once bore thirty sons in a single year. She said: "What a horde is this which I have born!" She caulked (?) baskets with dung, put her sons in them, and launched them in the river. The river carried them down to the sea at the land of Zalpuwa. Then the gods took them up out of the sea and reared them. When some years had passed, the queen again gave birth, this time to thirty daughters. This time she herself reared them (93).

The early inhabitants of Mesopotamia were familiar with two parts of the Armenian highlands: [24] the Diarbekir-Van-Urmia area in the south and (perhaps) the Ararat area in the north. In the stories of the Gilgamesh and Aratta cycles, eastern Asia Minor was considered a source of timber, precious stones, metal and skilled craftsmen. The Mother goddess is especially associated with the area, as are hybrid creatures such as the Scorpion-people, and monsters like Humbaba. Eastern Asia Minor is regarded as the place of salvation after the Deluge in most versions of the Flood story, including the account in *Genesis*. The early inhabitants of Mesopotamia also, apparently, regarded eastern Asia Minor as the location of the paradisaical Garden of the gods, as well as the entrance to the underworld. The Hurrians, who lived in the environs of Lake Van, sited many of their myths in eastern Asia Minor. The volume of Hurrian material which, currently, is not great, can be expected to increase with future discoveries and publications. At present, nonetheless, based solely on the Kumarbi cycle, three images emerge of eastern Asia Minor: it was a place of metals and metallurgy from remote antiquity, a place where Ishtar/Saushka, the goddess of love and war, had special influence, and a place where monsters lived and grew—be it the serpent/dragon Hedammu, or Ullikummi himself, a monster made of volcanic rock.

Indo-Iranian Mythology

Airyanem Vaejah/Eranvej

[25] Airyanem Vaejah was the legendary home of the Indo-Iranian people. It is believed that between ca. 5000 B.C. and 2000 B.C., Indian and Iranian tribes lived together in one place and spoke mutually intelligible languages. Sometime in the third millennium B.C., the two groups separated, reaching Iran and India via much-debated routes (94). Not surprisingly, the *Avesta* and the *Rig Veda*, the literary monuments of the Iranians and Indians respectively (second millennium B.C.) have similarities which extend beyond linguistics, to the very gods themselves, and the themes of parts of the narratives. Regrettably, the Iranian epic material in the *Avesta* was purged, sanitized or recast by the zeal of Zoroaster and his followers in the 7th century B.C. and later. Complicating matters is the fact that only a tiny percentage of the historically known *Avesta* has survived. It is only in oblique, presumably pre-Zoroastrian passages or in much later epic material (supposedly deriving from the earliest Iranian myths) that one encounters anything comparable to the passions and jealousies of the Greek or Indian deities (95).

Airyanem Vaejah, whose location is disputed, contained the first mountain created on earth, Hara Berezaiti or High Hara. The *Vedas*, which do not mention Airyanem Vaejah directly, nonetheless are familiar with this premier mountain (96). Close to the mountain was a sea, called Vourukasha in the *Avesta*, where the "Tree of All Seeds" grew. Coursing down the mountain, or near it, was a mighty river. [26] The early Indo-Iranians believed that all mountains were connected by their roots to High Hara; and that all bodies of water were connected to the magical sea (97).

Ahura Mazda, the god who created High Hara, also built palaces on it for the greatest gods: Mithra, Sraosha, Rashnu, Ardvi-sura Anahita, and Haoma, all of whom ride in special chariots. While humans could not live on the holy mountain, the greatest mythical heroes made sacrifices there. The way to the other world, a special abode of the blessed (where the largest and most choice specimens of plants and animals were found) lay through the foothills of Hara/Meru. The Chinvat bridge of Zoroastrian mythology, over which the souls of the dead had to pass was on or near High Hara. The motif of birds dwelling near the summit is shared by Iranian and Indian accounts, as is the theme of the theft of the intoxicating plant *haoma/soma* from the mountain's summit by a magical bird (Syena/Garuda/Simurgh); and the slaying of a multi-headed, multi-eyed dragon nearby (98). In the Indian tradition, Agni, the rock-born god of fire with tawny hair and iron teeth is connected with the sacred mountain. In the Iranian tradition, High Hara is also associated with metallurgy. Fire and metals were introduced to humanity after the hero Hoshang (Haoshyangha) sacrificed on the mountain (99). High Hara was also the locale of many of the most memorable contests in Iranian mythology (100).

The *Avesta* and the *Vedas* do not contain sufficiently precise geographical information to locate Airyanem Vaejah. [27] Despite this, for more than a century scholars have attempted to locate this legendary "original homeland" based on various interpretations of details. Thus, unbelievably, references to the severity of the winter storms in the mountains and certain poetic statements led to a "[North]polar hypothesis" (101). The fact that the *Avesta* has survived only in an eastern Iranian language, the statement that the prophet Zoroaster's initial visions and early teaching occurred here, and the belief that cattle raising developed exclusively on the steppes of eastern Iran, led to the selection of eastern Iran as the most likely site, by some (102). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a number of scholars suggested that Airyanem Vaejah should be sought in the Caucasus or adjacent areas. This view, which was developed most thoroughly by A.V.W.

Jackson, was shared by James Darmesteter, an early translator of the *Avesta* and A.J. Carnoy, author of the study "Iranian mythology," in *Mythology of All Races* (vol. 6), among others (103). According to these hypotheses, the sacred mountain (High Hara) and the magical sea (Vourukasha) would correspond to either Mt. Rewanduz and Lake Urmiah; Mt. Ararat or Mt. Aragats and Lake Sevan; Mt. Suphan or Mt. Nemrut and Lake Van; or Mt. Savalan or Mt. Demavend and the Caspian Sea. This last is the favorite of later Iranian tradition. Jackson suggested that Azerbaijan was the most likely site for Airyanem Vaejah, and that the later Zoroaster also hailed from this land of mountains, rivers, and prized pasturage (104).

The Arax River

Two place names mentioned in the *Avesta* and the *Vedas* have been associated with the Arax River: [28] the great semi-mythical river Raha which had its source in the High Hara; and a place repeatedly styled "the goodly Daitya," located somewhere in Airyanem Vaejah (105). It was there that Ahura Mazda convened his assembly of spiritual Yazatas and where the first kings addressed their people. It was at the goodly Daitya that Ahura Mazda told of the coming destruction of humanity and the need to build a refuge. Some have associated Daitya with the valley of the Arax River, though numerous other sites have been suggested for Daitya and Raha, stretching across Iran and northern India (106).

Legend identifies the banks of the Arax River with the birthplace of the god Mithra, god of contracts. The Iranist G. Widengren writes:

According to the "legend" of the mysteries Mithras was born from a rock, *petra genetrix* giving life to him. He is therefore *de petra natus*... We also know that Mithra was born on the shore of the river Araxes, Ps. Plutarch, *De fluviis* 23 par. 4 (where, however, a confusion is found in so far as this story is attributed to a son of Mithras), that his father hated women and therefore threw his sperm on a rock which afterwards was pregnant. These details are not as the great pioneer in Mithraic studies [Franz Cumont] assumed "*de pure fantaisie*," on the contrary they are part of a birth myth attested among the Ossetians in Caucasus and have already in the Hurrian "Epic of Kumarbi" an unmistakable association. The localization of this scene of Mithra's birth to the shore of the Araxes in Armenia confirms our presumption that north-western Iran and Armenia was the homeland of Mithraic mysteries. Also the shepherds who are seen on Mithraic reliefs in connection with the birth-scene possess their correspondence in Ossetic tales and Iranian salvation legends, and indicate likewise a north-western origin of the stories about Mithra's birth (107).

It was by the banks of the Arax, too, apparently, that Mithra killed the primeval Ox, seizing it by the nostrils with one hand and [29] plunging his hunting knife into its flank with the other. From the limbs and blood of the Ox, all useful species of animals and plants sprang forth (108). The "Soul of the Ox" flew into the firmament, reminiscent of the ram sacrificed by Phrixus in Aia.

Even though there is insufficient evidence to locate the legendary Airyanem Vaejah, it is clear that certain symbols are associated with it. Among these are mountains, metallurgy, the entrance to the other world, and the deities Anahit and Mithra, dwelling on the sacred mountain. Scholars who place Airyanem Vaejah and the locale of the early Indo-Iranian myths in eastern Iran suggest that the myths received a Middle Eastern coloration at a later period in western Iran, Azerbaijan, and Media where they were written down and commented on (109).

Conclusions

[30] Eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus were familiar in varying degrees to the Greeks, Mesopotamians, and Indo-Iranians. The Greeks were familiar with the southeastern corner of the Black Sea and the area to the west of Lake Van; the Mesopotamians with the Diarbekir-Van-Urmia region and perhaps with the Ararat area to the north; the Indo-Iranians with the valley of the Arax River, and the areas around Urmia and south of the Caspian. Not only is there familiarity with these areas, but the images defined by them have striking similarities. All three traditions associate the area with metals and metallurgy, the entrance to the underworld or other world, and hybrid monsters. It was a place of origin and/or salvation of humanity; a place where the Mother Goddess had special sway; where certain non-patriarchal forms of social organization and inheritance obtained; and a place associated with magic potions, medicines, and people knowledgeable in their preparation. Concomitant with the association with metallurgy is an association with its finished products: mechanical marvels and magically forged weapons. An association with horse and chariot appears in the details of all three traditions. Areas south of the Armenian highlands also associate the area with timber, precious stones, and craftsmen—all of which, historically, were obtained from there.

In addition to the similarity of images, there is a deeper similarity which is thematic. Prometheus (son of Iapetus), Noah (son of Japeth), and Hoshang are all civilizing culture-heroes who bring the blessings (or secrets) of the gods down to humanity in this special area. [31] The theme of the almost successful destruction of humanity by the gods and its rebirth here is shared by Greek, Mesopotamian, and Iranian mythology. Odysseus, Heracles, and Gilgamesh, adventurers turned seekers-after-immortality, all visit here. Such similarities have led some to suggest that we are not dealing with independent traditions but with certain great or memorable events in the early history of humanity—interpreted differently—some of which entered sacred tradition while others remained part of classical mythology.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that in addition to reflecting foreign images of eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus, some of the myths reviewed above actually derive from the area. The one-eyed cyclops of Greek mythology, and the demon Humbaba of Mesopotamian mythology may descend from the one-eyed T'ork, whose worship was known from areas to the west and southwest of Lake Van. Another deity and his *gestes*, the culture-hero Prometheus may derive from the Vahakn-Ardavazd-Amiram figures known from Armenian and Georgian mythology. Tales of dragons and rock-born gods are also known from eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus. It is reasonable to suppose that along with the natural resources and finished products that were exported from this area, the stories themselves travelled. This is even more likely if the merchants, traders, and warriors were migrants from the area. If so, then these myths, which currently are the earliest literary monuments of humanity, simultaneously become reflections of the earliest native traditions, valuable for the study of eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus, and extending references to this area back to the dawn of writing.

Footnotes

- 1 M. Silver, "The Commodity Composition of Trade in the Argonaut Myth," in *Ancient Economy in Mythology* (Savage, Maryland, 1991), pp. 241-81; O. D. Lordkipanidze, "Antichnii mir i vostochnoe prichernomor'e (Kolkhida, Iberiia) [*The Ancient World and the Eastern Coast of the Black Sea (Colchis, Iberia)*]," in *Kavkaz i sredizemnomor'e* (Tbilisi, 1980), pp. 5-20.
- 2 *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol I, part 1 Prolegomena and Prehistory (Cambridge, 1970), p. 289; M. Roaf, *Cultural Atlas of Mesopotamia and the Ancient Near East* (New York, 1990), pp. 34-35; J. Mellaart in *The Neolithic of the Near East* (London, 1975) postulated an organized trade in obsidian connecting southern Mesopotamia and Syria with deposits originating around Lake Van and possibly Ararat. His hypothesis is based on numerous artifacts dated to the 8-7th millennia B.C. deriving from these sources found throughout the Middle East.
- 3 For bibliography on the extensive literature on this subject see the articles in J.A.C. Greppin, ed., *When Worlds Collide* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1990); J. P. Mallory, *In Search of the Indo-Europeans* (London, 1991), pp. 278-84.
- 4 For references see M. A. Hazarabedian, "A Bibliography of Armenian Folklore," *Armenian Review* 39(1986), pp. 33-54; A. Grigolia, "The Caucasus and the Ancient Pre-Greco-Roman Culture World," *Bedi Karthlisa* 34-35(1960), pp. 97-104; G. Charachidze, *Promethee ou Le Caucase* (Paris, 1986). Unfortunately, Charachidze's *Memoire indo-europeene du Caucase* (Paris, 1987) was not available to us.
- 5 K. Kerényi, *Gods of the Greeks* (New York, 1988; repr. of 1951 ed.); W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985). See note 14 below. For a partial bibliography and appraisal of Dumézil's important works see D. S. Calonne, "Georges Dumézil and Armenian Myth," *Armenian Review* 44(1991), pp. 37-49.
- 6 C. Burney and D.M. Lang, *Peoples of the Hills* (New York, 1971), pp. 1-13; R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 39-48, 62-63; T'. Hakobyan, *Hayastani patmakan ashkharhagrut'yun* [*The Historical Geography of Armenia*] (Erevan, 1984) *Cambridge Ancient History*, pp. 39-46.
- 7 V. Hehn, *Cultivated Plants and Domesticated Animals in their Migration from Asia to Europe* (Amsterdam, 1976; originally published in 1885). Among plants and animals Hehn believed originated in or passed through the area of our interest are: the vine (p. 73); olive (p. 88) flax and hemp (pp. 132, 134, 151), the pea (p. 167) alfalfa (p. 306), oleander (p. 311), the rose and lily (p. 189), the violet (p. 96), crocus (p. 197), laurel and myrtle (pp. 172-75), box-tree (p. 177), cypress (p. 212), plane-tree (p. 219), almond, walnut, chestnut (p. 294), hazelnut (p. 298), pomegranate (p. 181) cherry (p. 300), peach and apricot (p. 320), orange and lemon (pp. 331, 332, 335), the cock and domesticated fowls (6th cent. B.C., pp. 241, 246, 247) the pheasant (named after the Phasis river, p. 274), the ass and mule (pp. 110-111). Hehn wrote: "Not only castration, circumcision, and the breeding of mongrel beasts, but the lopping and dwarfing of trees, and crossing of species by imping and grafting, had been early practised in Syria," pp. 324- 25.
- 8 T. A. Wertime and J. D. Muhly, ed. *The Coming of the Age of Iron*, (New Haven, 1980), pp. 17-18, 358, 434-36; W. E. D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (N.Y., 1971; repr. of 1932 ed.), pp. 11-19. Burney and Lang, *Peoples*, pp. 113-15.
- 9 S. Piggott, "The Earliest Wheeled Vehicles and the Caucasian Evidence," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 34 (1968), pp. 266-318; "Chariots in the Caucasus and China," *Antiquity* 48 (1974), pp. 16-24; and

The Earliest Wheeled Transport (London, 1983) by the same author.

10 R. Drews, *The Coming of the Greeks* (Princeton, 1988) especially pp. 46-69, 103, 107, 112-20, 134-35, 148-49, 156-57, 178-85.

11 Recently, the linguists T. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov in *Indoeuropeiskii iazyk i indoeuropeits* [*The Indo-European Language and the Indo-Europeans*] Parts I and II (Tbilisi, 1984) selected Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan as the likely homeland of Indo-European speakers, a hypothesis which has spawned an enormous literature (see note 3 above and also T. V. Gamkrelidze and V. V. Ivanov, "[The Early History of the Indo-European Languages](#)," *Scientific American* (March, 1990), pp. 110-116). An early "modern" diffusionist was J. Blumenbach (1800) who used the term "Caucasian" to designate that ethnic division of the human race with skin color varying from very light to brown. Among nineteenth-century philologists promoting an Indo-European homeland in eastern Asia Minor or the Caucasus were A.V.W. Jackson and J. Darmesteter, and the naturalist V. Hehn, who wrote: "Our field-fruits and tree-fruits come from India and Persia, from Syria and Armenia; and so do our fairytales and legends, our religious systems, all primitive inventions, and fundamental technical arts" (V. Hehn, *Cultivated Plants*, p. 398). Among twentieth-century linguists supporting variants of this position belong E. A. Speiser, A. Ungnad, I. J. Gelb (see the discussion in G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Wiltshire, England, 1989), pp. 2-5), the art historian R. Ghirshman, the archaeologist J. Mellaart, and historians C. Renfrew and R. Drews. This is a partial list only.

12 Stith Thompson, who created the motif index of folktales which bears his name, derived a number of his earliest types from the same myths discussed in the present study. See "[The Folktale in Ancient Literature](#)," in Stith Thompson, *The Folktale* (Berkeley, 1977; repr. of 1946 ed.), pp. 272-82. The psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud's studies of myth include *Moses and Monotheism* (1939) and *Totem and Taboo* (1946).

13 P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff, 1966).

14 J. Bremmer, "What is a Greek Myth?" in *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1987), J. Bremmer, ed., pp. 1-9; W. Burkert, "Oriental and Greek Mythology: the Meeting of Parallels," pp. 10-40 in the same volume; W. Burkert, "Oriental Myth and Literature in the Iliad," *The Greek Renaissance of the Eighth Century B.C.* (Stockholm, 1983), pp. 51-56.

15 S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 39-49.

16 W.E.D. Allen, "Ex Ponto V. Heniochi-Aea-Hayasa," *Bedi Karthlisa* 34-35(1960), pp. 79-92, and the same author's "Ex Ponto III and IV," *Bedi Karthlisa* 32-33(1959), pp. 39-40 where he further associates the Aians with the Aenianes mentioned by Strabo, *Geography* (XI, 7, 1) and the Hions/Hyaonians mentioned in Avestan texts; C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), pp. 57-58, 61-62.

17 Apollonius of Rhodes, *The Voyage of Argo the Argonautica*, E.V. Rieu, trans. (Baltimore, Maryland, 1971, repr. of 1959 ed.) Book IV.727-29, p. 167, hereafter *Argo*; Hesiod, *Theogony*, M. L. West, trans. (Oxford, 1989), p. 31. E. Tripp, *The Meridian Handbook of Classical Mythology* (Baltimore, Maryland, 1974), pp. 15-16, hereafter *Handbook*. We use the term Aiakid to designate Aeetes, his siblings and their descendants.

18 *Argo*, Book II.1118-1188, pp. 104-5; *The Odes of Pindar*, R. Lattimore, trans. (Chicago, 1976), Pythia 4.159-63, p. 67, 4.241-42, p. 71; M. Grant, *Folktale and Hero-Tale Motifs in the Odes of Pindar* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1967), pp. 12, 27, 79, 94; *Handbook*, p. 479.

19 Homer, *Odyssey*, W. Rouse, trans. (New York, 1970, repr. of 1937 ed.), Book XII.65-72, p. 139; The Argonauts are the theme in Pindar's Pythia 4; M. Grant, *Folktale*, pp. 19, 30, 32, 35, 67-68, 93-94; *Handbook*, pp. 73-95. It is not known how much of the story was known to Homer or in what detail, and how much of

Apollonius' story reflected the image of "Colchis" in his own time. Rosters of the crew tended to grow over time, but early lists include: Heracles, Orpheus, the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), Zetes and Calais, Telamon and Peleus, Idas and Lynceus, Admetus, Periclymenus, Augeias, Argus and Tiphys.

20 *Argo*, Books III-IV.223, pp. 109-52.

21 See note 36 below. Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 58 n. 57, observes a possible connection between the name Circe and the Circassians, a north Caucasian people once living on the south shore of the Black Sea. N. Robertson, "Myth, Ritual, and Livelihood in Early Greece," in *Ancient Economy in Mythology*, p. 12 writes: "The Circe episode is not integral to the story of Odysseus, but still goes back a long way; it is generally agreed that at an earlier stage the episode belonged to the story of the Argonauts." It is possible that the Armenian story of Hayk is part of the Aia cycle, though whether it relates to the birth of Aia or its destruction is not clear to us. Unfortunately, aside from one rather "historical" narration in the *Primary History* [English trans. in *Moses Khorenats'i History of the Armenians*, R. W. Thomson, trans. (London, 1978), pp. 357-68; a more recent translation of the [Primary History](#) is now available at Internet Archive], very little of the myths about Hayk and his offspring has survived. The *Primary History* describes the migration of Hayk and his family from some southern area ("Babylon") northward into central and eastern Asia Minor. Everywhere the Haykids encountered settled populations which they conquered. The Pontic area was taken by Hayk's descendant, Aram, after the defeat of a local Titan named Paiapis Chalia. Ananikian, p. 87 believed that this may be a reference to the Urartian Khaldi, though the name(s) may instead be a garbled reference to Aia and Colchis. Ananikian, pp. 64-65 associated Hayk with the Phrygian Hyas, god of vegetation and wine and the Vedic Vayu; Armenak, with the Armenius, father of Er in Plato's *Republic*, and the Vedic Aryaman; and Ara, with Er, who visited the underworld and returned to describe his journey, *ibid.*, pp. 68-70. Hayk's son, Cadmus (and his son, Harma), may be reflected in the Greek Cadmus, a figure whose *gestes* have thematic ties to the area of our interest. In the Greek tradition, Cadmus, son of "Agenor," settles various parts of Phoenicia, Cilicia, Thrace, and Boetia. He is credited with bringing the Phoenician alphabet to Greece. He slays a dragon sacred to Ares, for which he must atone. But the goddess Athena told Cadmus to sow the dragon's teeth and kill the men who sprang up from them. Athena gave the other portion of the dragon's teeth to Aeetes. Cadmus is described as subduing the Hyantes and the Aones, two tribes later placed in Boetia, but perhaps originally associated with the Hayassa or the Hyaonians (see notes 16 and 104). Cadmus married Ares' daughter, Harmonia, and in some accounts, the first Amazons were their offspring. Cadmus and Harmonia, in their old age, were transported to the Elysian Fields and transformed into snakes, *Handbook*, pp. 140-42. It is a frequent phenomenon in mythology that tales of a hero's sons actually relate to the hero himself. If this is the case with the story of Hayk, then Hayk's personality embraces that of Ara, god of the underworld, a circumstance which strengthens the connection between Hayk and Aeetes.

22 *Odyssey*, Book X.133-574, pp. 115-23.

23 K. Robinson, "Mid-Second Millennium Pontic-Aegean Connections: A Note to Chapter 12," pp. 283-86 in *Ancient Economy in Mythology*.

24 *Argo*, Book II.1118-1188, pp. 104-105.

25 *Argo*, Book IV.239-42, 302ff., 730ff., 1004ff. pp. 153, 155, 167, 174.

26 *Argo*, Book IV.1211ff., p. 180.

27 *Argo*, Book III.1226ff., pp. 141-42. The Golden Fleece, which has been interpreted variously as a symbol of metals and commerce in cloth, may also be an early reflection of the Iranian *xvarenah* or *farr*.

28 *Argo*, Book III.210ff., p. 115.

29 See our forthcoming study, "Ethnobotany in Eastern Asia Minor." [RB: The article appeared as "Soma among the Armenians" (published on the Internet, September, 2000), and is available at Internet Archive: "[Soma among the Armenians](#)"].

30 *Argo*, Book III.805-1060, 1243-63, pp. 131-37, 142; M. Grant, *Folktale*, p. 66.

31 *Argo*, Book IV.142-82, pp. 150-51.

32 *Handbook*, pp. 359-63.

33 *Handbook*, p. 449.

34 M. I. Rostovtsev, in *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), p. 62 suggested that Books X, XI, and XII of the *Odyssey* concerned the southeastern corner of the Black Sea and further that "the land of the rising sun, the Aia of *Odyssey*, which seems, at the same time, to be part of the world beyond the grave, is to be placed on the Caucasian bank of the Black Sea."

35 K. Kerényi, *Goddesses of Sun and Moon* (Irving, Texas, 1979), p. 12. An association with the underworld is also reflected in the story of Er (Ara), son of Armenius in Plato's *Republic*, see A. V. Matikian, *Aray geghets'ik* (Vienna, 1930), pp. 245-304; Ananikian, pp. 68-70.

36 *Odyssey*, Book XI.69-72, p. 125: "...remember me, my prince, when you reach Aia, for I know you will touch there on your way back from Hades"; also Book XII.1-7, p. 138: "Our ship left the stream of Ocean and passed into the open sea. Soon it came to the island of Aia, where Dawn has her dwelling and her dancing lawns and Helios his place of rising."

37 Other gods of horse and chariot, such as Poseidon, Helios, and Phaeton are also associated with the area of our interest. The god Poseidon is associated with eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus by name and by attributes. Greek mythologists regard Poseidon as a foreign god whose name does not explain easily in Greek. Caucasiologists such as Mikeladze and Allen derive the root of the name Poseidon from *pse* ("water" in Georgian and Circassian), Allen, "Ex Ponto V," p. 87; Mikeladze further connects Poseidon with the fish-shaped stone stelae (*vishaps*) found in south Caucasia; see also J. Karst, *Mythologie*, pp. 168-72. According to Homer and Hesiod, Poseidon was a god of earthquakes, the sea and horses. By striking his trident on a rock, Poseidon created the first horse; he gave to Pelops a flying chariot drawn by the immortal horses Balios and Xanthos; he himself was the father of two horses: the winged horse Pegasus, and the fabulously swift Arion, Heracles' mount [M. Grant, *Folktale*, pp. 33, 44, 75, 79, 101, 105, 117 n. 72; *Handbook*, p. 101; W. Fox, "Greek and Roman Mythology," in *Mythology of All Races* (New York, 1964; repr. of 1916 ed.) vol. 1, p. 213]. He was a friend of the Centaurs, creatures with the body and legs of a horse and the torso, head, and arms of a man. Poseidon is also related to a number of mythical figures connected to eastern Asia Minor and the Caucasus. For example, he was the father of the ram with the Golden Fleece (*Handbook*, p. 494). The Cyclops, Polyphemus, was his son, as was Orion the hunter and the Argonauts Butes, Euphemus, Ancaeus and Erginus. Poseidon was also associated with Pasiphae, sister of Aetes and Circe.

In *Prometheus Bound*, Prometheus is credited with being the first to yoke horses to a chariot. Poseidon, too, as god of horses, is portrayed as riding his chariot through the waves, and giving chariots as gifts. There are, however, two other deities closely associated with the chariot, Helios (the Sun) and his son, Phaeton. Both of them also have other ties with eastern Asia Minor. Helios was conceived of as driving his four-horse chariot through the sky from his magical palace in the East to the West each day (*Handbook*, p. 268). As the father of Aetes, Circe and Pasiphae, Helios sometimes took them along in his chariot. He also lent a chariot, drawn by winged dragons, to his granddaughter, Medea, Aetes' daughter, which she used in her travels in Greece.

Phaeton was Helios' son by a goddess, Clymene, mother of Prometheus and Atlas. To learn the truth about his heritage, Phaeton traveled to Helios' palace in the East, and convinced his reluctant father to let him drive the sun-chariot for one day. Phaeton's sisters, the Heliades, yoked the horses, and the unskilled young god set out. But he was unable to control the horses, who jumped up (creating the Milky Way), then charged so close to the earth that the planet was almost consumed in flames. Seeing the danger, Zeus hurled a thunderbolt at Phaeton, killing him. In their grief, his sisters turned into poplars weeping amber by the banks of the river in which Phaeton's flaming body fell. The image of Helios and his son Phaeton was adopted by Apollonius of Rhodes in his description of Aeetes and his son, Absyrtus. Apollonius actually uses Phaeton ("Shining One") as an epithet for Absyrtus:

"At daybreak too, Aeetes put on his breast the stiff cuirass which Ares had given him after slaying Mimas with his own hands in the field of Phlegra; and on his head he set his golden helmet with its four plates, bright as the Sun's round face when he rises fresh from Ocean Stream...Phaeton was close at hand, holding his father's swift horses and well-built chariot in readiness." (*Argo*, III.1225-45, p. 141-42).

38 Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound*, M. Griffith, ed. (Cambridge, 1983), lines 435-505; M. Grant, *Folktale*, pp. 37, 66, 126 n. 38.

39 Hesiod, *Theogony*, 508-70, pp. 18-20.

40 *Handbook*, pp. 499-501. Prometheus' son, Deucalion, also has ties to eastern Asia Minor. Warned by his father about Zeus' plan to destroy humanity in a flood, Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha (a daughter of Pandora) board a boat full of provisions. They float on the water for nine days before landing on a mountain. Deucalion and Pyrrha then repopulate the land by throwing stones behind them, over their shoulders. Men sprang up from the stones Deucalion threw, women, from Pyrrha's stones. The motif of rock-born beings is known from Hurrian and Indo-Iranian myths (see in text). Deucalion's grandson set out from this land to occupy Greece, which was his allotted portion. M. Grant, *Folktale*, pp. 65, 87, p. 127 n. 40; Pindar, *Olympia* 9.44-46; Apollodorus 1.7. 1-2; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.318-415; *Handbook*, p. 199; Dalley, *Myths*, pp. 7-8.

41 *Prometheus Bound*, lines 300-308; see Griffith's commentary, *ibid.*, pp. 160-61, 170-71, 173-74, 176, 213-14, 217-18, 228, 230-31.

42 Griffith, pp. 14-15. In Athens, both gods shared an altar in the Academy, Griffith, p. 85.

43 Homer, *Iliad* 1.571-608, pp. 63-64, 18.368-617, pp. 318-23, 20.73-74, p. 335, 21.328-382, pp. 353-54; *Odyssey*, 8.266-366, pp. 93-95; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 570-572, p. 20, 927-929 p. 30, 945-946, p. 31; *Argo*, Book I.202-205, p. 41, I.850-860, p. 59.

44 Hesiod, *Theogony*, 570-612, pp. 20-21; *Works and Days*, 47-105, pp. 38-40; M. Grant, *Folktale*, pp. 2, 7-8, 13-14, 59-62, 78, 83, 95, 106, 111 n. 12, 117 n. 76, 126 n. 38.

45 Pindar, *Pythia* 1. 15-60, pp. 46-48.

46 Hesiod, *Theogony*, 853-69, p. 28; *Iliad*, II.781-83, pp. 81-82.

47 West, *Theogony*, p. 67 n. 304; S. T. Eremyan, "Hayeri tseghayin miut'yune Arme-Shupria erkrum [Tribal Union of the Armenians in the land of Arme-Shupria]", *Patma-banasirakan handes* 3(1958) pp. 59-72. Eremyan suggested that the Arimi were the Urumi mentioned along with the Mushki and Apeshlai in the Assyrian annals, but see I. M. Diakonoff, *The Pre-history of the Armenian People* (Delmar, N.Y., 1984) pp. 120-21 and the same author's *Phrygian* (Delmar, N.Y., 1985) pp. xi, xvii n. 9.

48 West, *Theogony*, p. 70 n. 860.

49 While there are conflicting traditions about the Cyclopes, they appear to have been originally outside the Olympian tradition, and only later integrated into it. They were Titans, occasionally imprisoned in Tartarus, but finally released by Zeus. They became the smiths of Zeus, constructing his thunderbolts. They also made Poseidon's trident and Hades' cap of invisibility. In Homer's *Odyssey*, Book IX.116-566, pp. 102-111, the Cyclopes are depicted as pastoralists living in caves on an island later equated with Sicily. Later tradition makes the Cyclopes Hephaestus' craftsmen. T'ork', a god known among the Armenians, has important parallels to the Cyclops Polyphemus, see M. Ananikian, "Armenian Mythology" in *Mythology of All Races*, vol. 7 (New York, 1964, repr. of 1925 ed.), pp. 85-86, 98-100; N. Adontz, "[Tarkou chez les anciens arméniens](#)," in *Revue des études arméniennes* 7(1927), pp. 185-94 [also in English translation, "[Tarku among the Ancient Armenians](#)"]; Toumanoff, *Studies*, pp. 299-303. Hephaestus was associated with Mihr (Mithra) by later Armenian tradition, Ananikian, p. 33. On Prometheus-like figures among the Georgians and Armenians see Ananikian, pp. 42-46, and the Georgian references in note 4 above. Allen, "Ex Ponto V," p. 86 suggested a connection, possibly etymological, between Hephaestus and the Circassian god of metallurgy, Tleps, known from the Sinope and Trebizond area.

50 Hesiod, *Theogony*, 295-332, p.12.

51 R. D. Barnett, "Ancient Oriental Influences on Archaic Greece," in *The Aegean and the Near East*, Saul S. Weinberg, ed. (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1956), p. 231. The mythical griffin, a favorite with Urartian metalworkers, may have influenced stories of the Arimaspi, a one-eyed people who fought with griffins for possession of the gold in their neighborhood, Herodotus 3.116, 4.13, 4.27.

52 Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 685-690; *Prometheus Bound*, 723.

53 Herodotus 4.110-117; Pindar, *Olympia* 13.89-90, p. 43; M. Grant, *Folktale*, pp. 12, 16, 18, 119 n. 113.

54 Homer, *Iliad* 3.184-90, p. 89, 6.186, p. 134.

55 *Argo*, Book II.360-91, p. 83, II.945-1000, pp. 99-100.

56 D. J. Sobol, *The Amazons of Greek Mythology* (Cranbury, N.J., 1972), pp. 138-39; F. Bennett, *Religious Cults Associated with the Amazons* (New York, 1967, repr. of 1912 edition).

57 J. Karst, *Mythologie armeno-caucasienne et hetito-asianique* (Strasbourg, 1948) p. 42.

58 See note 29 above.

59 See note 37 above.

60 S. Dalley, *Myths from Mesopotamia* (Oxford, 1989), p. 325.

61 *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, N. K. Sandars, trans. (N.Y., 1972), p. 33, hereafter *Gilgamesh*; For a more recent, literal translation see Dalley, *Myths*, pp. 50-153.

62 *Gilgamesh*, p. 71. For Armenian parallels to Humbaba see note 49 above. On the translation of *erenu* as "pine" rather than "cedar" see Dalley, *Myths*, p. 126 n. 20.

63 *Gilgamesh*, p. 77.

64 *Gilgamesh*, pp. 77-79.

- 65 *Gilgamesh*, pp. 83-84. The cut timber was sent down river to Mesopotamia by raft, Dalley, *Myths*, pp. 76-77, 84-85. This is the same method of transportation that Herodotus (*History*, Book I.194) described Armenians using in the 5th century B. C.
- 66 *Gilgamesh*, p. 83.
- 67 *Gilgamesh*, pp. 79-80.
- 68 *Gilgamesh*, p. 87. Ishtar tries to bribe Gilgamesh with a chariot of lapis lazuli and gold, driven by dragons, Dalley, *Myths*, p. 77. For other references to horse and chariot in this myth see *ibid.*, pp. 78, 79, p. 129 n. 52. For references to metals and metallurgists, *ibid.*, pp. 82, 93, 144.
- 69 *Gilgamesh*, p. 98.
- 70 *Gilgamesh*, p. 100.
- 71 *Gilgamesh*, p. 108.
- 72 *Gilgamesh*, p. 113.
- 73 Vahan Inglizian, *Hayastan surb grk'i mej [Armenia in the Bible]* (Vienna, 1947; Armenian trans. of his German doctoral dissertation), pp. 106-121; Dalley, *Myths*, pp. 1-8, 39-49.
- 74 Inglizian, pp. 122-24. The magical tunnel is identified with a rock tunnel two miles long which extends from Bylkalein to the main source of the Tigris river. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt I* (Berlin, 1910), Chapter 14, "Der Tigris Tunnel."
- 75 Inglizian, pp. 132-33.
- 76 Inglizian, p. 117.
- 77 T. Howard-Carter, "The Tangible Evidence for the Earliest Dilmun," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* vol. 33/3-4 (1981), pp. 210-223. Kramer, *Sumerians*, p. 281, who placed Dilmun in India observed that Dilmun's description as "the place where the sun rises" hardly fits Bahrain, which is south of Sumer. The passages of the *Gilgamesh* cited above also have certain connections to the *Odyssey*. Somewhere *en route* to Utnapishtim, Gilgamesh meets a Circe-like woman called Siduri ("barmaid") who urges Gilgamesh to turn back and to reconcile himself with his lot of mortality by drinking wine and enjoying life. Unable to dissuade him, this woman, like Circe, gives the hero instructions on traveling to the other world.
- 78 On the location of Aratta: S. Cohen, *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* (Un. of Penn. Ph.D. dissertation, 1973 University Microfilms), pp. 13-24, 127; S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), p. 269 placed Aratta in northwestern Iran near the Caspian Sea; G. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland* (Naples, 1980) identified Aratta with Shahr-i Suxta in southern Iran; M. Kavoukjian, *Armenia, Subartu, and Sumer* (Montreal, 1987), pp. 57-81 identified Aratta with the Metsamor metallurgical complex in the Ayrarat valley. Dalley, *Myths*, p. 129 n. 53 observes that the adjective *arattu* ("wonderfully wrought") originally meant "made in Aratta." It is noteworthy that the goddess Ishtar (herself connected to eastern Asia Minor) when trying to win Gilgamesh's love, offers him a golden chariot drawn by dragons, and a home with an *arattu* threshold, Dalley, p. 77.
- 79 *Enmerkar*, lines 25-87, pp. 113-16; lines 124-27, p. 118; lines 196-205, pp. 121-22; lines 281-93, p.126. The metals included gold, silver, copper, tin (lines 18, 196-99); timber included boxwood (lines 131, 203), cedar/cypress (line 401), pine (line 403) and poplar "the wood for chariots" (line 404), Cohen, pp. 131-32.

80 *Enmerkar*, lines 323-499, pp. 118-36; lines 500-505, pp. 136-37: "The emissary, his mouth (being) heavy, was not able to repeat (it). The lord of Kulaba patted clay and wrote the message like (on a present-day) tablet. Formerly, the writing of messages on clay was not established. Now, with [the sun god] Utu's bringing forth the day, verily, this was so." This myth also refers to the confusion of tongues, lines 150-55, p. 119.

81 S. N. Kramer, *Sumerians*, pp. 272-73.

82 *Ibid.*, pp. 273-74.

83 Cohen, pp. 23-24. The timber cut by Gilgamesh and Enkidu was also transported south by boat, see note 65 above.

84 Kramer, *Sumerians*, pp. 275-76 places Mount Hurum "in the neighborhood of Lake Van."

85 R. T. O'Callaghan, *Aram Naharaim* (Rome, 1948), *Analecta Orientalia* #26, p.48.

86 I. M. Diakonoff, "Evidence on the Ethnic Division of the Hurrians", in *Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians*, M. A. Morrison, ed. (Winona Lake, Indiana, 1981), p. 82.

87 One myth, known as the "Song of the Kingship in Heaven," describes three aeons of succession before the triumph of Teshub, the weather god. First Alalu was king in heaven, served by Anu. Anu overthrew Alalu and was served by Kumarbi. Then Kumarbi overthrows Anu and castrates him: "(Kumarbi) bit his (Anu's) loins, and his 'manhood' united with Kumarbi's insides like bronze (results from the union of copper and tin). When Kumarbi had swallowed the 'manhood' of Anu, he rejoiced and laughed out loud. Anu turned around and spoke to Kumarbi: 'Are you rejoicing within yourself because you have swallowed my manhood? Stop rejoicing within yourself! I have placed inside you a burden. First, I have impregnated you with the noble Storm God (=Teshub). Second, I have impregnated you with the irresistible Tigris River. Third, I have impregnated you with the noble Tasmisu," H. A. Hoffner, Jr., *Hittite Myths* (Atlanta, 1990), pp. 40-41. G. Wilhelm, *The Hurrians* (Wiltshire, England, 1989) pp. 59-60 writes: "There is no doubt about the parallels between the Hurrian myth of succession and the *Theogony* of Hesiod, the Greek poet living in Boeotia in about 700 B.C. Just as in the Hurrian myth Anu, the god of heaven, is castrated by his son Kumarbi, to be deposed in his turn by the weather god Teshub, so Kronos becomes ruler of the gods after the castration of his father, Uranus, god of heaven, only to be usurped by Zeus, the thunder god."

88 Hoffner, pp. 48-52, the "Song of Hedammu."

89 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 55. On the location of Mount Hazzi, Wilhelm writes: "...because of the reference to Mount Hazzi, we must imagine Ullikummi growing out of the Gulf of Iskenderun", p. 61 and "In Ugarit, Mount Sapan (ancient name: mons Casius, now Jabal al-Aqra, on the mouth of the Orontes) was thought to be the abode of Ba'al. In the Hittite-Hurrian world it was deified under the name of Hazzi and became one of Teshub's satellites, along with the still unidentified Mount Namni", p. 50. But see Diakonoff "Evidence", p. 81 n. 17: "Ha-zi, Ha-az-ai is the Hurrian name of Mount Sapanu which means 'North'; presumably that is also the meaning of the Hurrian word." If Diakonoff's presumption is correct, then the mountain of Hazzi may have been located north of Lake Van, perhaps Suphan whose legends and even name may have migrated to the southwest. It is noteworthy that early Greek mythographers placed the destruction of Typhoeus (whom some equate with Ullikummi, W. Burkert, "Oriental and Greek Mythology", pp. 16, 20) in the "land of the Arimi."

91 Hoffner, pp. 56-57.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 59; For parallels to the Greek myths of Typhoes, see W. Burkert, "Oriental and Greek Mythology", pp. 19-24; for Caucasian parallels, see the same author's "Von Ullikummi zum Kaukasus: Die Felsgeburt des Unholds", *Wurzburger Jahrbucher N. F.*, 5(1979), pp. 253-61.

93 Hoffner, p. 62.

94 M. Boyce, *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* (Manchester, 1984), pp. 8-9. R. Drews, *The Coming of the Greeks*, pp. 182-83 writes: "It has usually been assumed...that the Aryans came overland, somehow, to India, taking either a northern route through Afghanistan and across the Hindu Kush to the Punjab, or possibly a dreadful and southern route, through Baluchistan, across the Kirthar range, and into the lower Indus Valley (the one ancient army known to have traveled this route was Alexander's, which barely made it through). However, if the Aryans started on their journey from Armenia, an infinitely easier route for them to have taken to the Indus Delta would have been through Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf, and then through the gulf to the Indian Ocean. The sea route through the gulf and along the coast of the Indian Ocean had been used, in the early second millennium, by Mesopotamian merchants in their occasional traffic with the cities of India." It is noteworthy that the earliest appearance of the "Vedic" gods Indra, Mitra, Varuna and the Nasatya twins is found in a mid-fourteenth century B.C. treaty between Matiwaza of Mitanni and Suppiluliumas of Hatti from central Asia Minor. Drews accepts Kammenhuber's conclusions about the Aryan glosses in this treaty that "the words came from a developmental stage of Aryan earlier than the bifurcation of Indian and Iranian, and they came from the dialect ancestral to Sanskrit (rather than the Proto-Avestan dialect). Now, if the language of the Aryan speakers of Mitanni was ancestral to the language of the conquerors of northwest India, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Aryan speakers who went to India went by way of Mesopotamia." See also K. D. Irani, "The Socioeconomic Implications of the Conflict of the Gods in Indo-Iranian Mythology," *Ancient Economy in Mythology*, pp. 60, 63.

95 A. A. Jafarey, "Avestan Myths and Economy," *Ancient Economy in Mythology*, pp. 35-4; Boyce, *Textual Sources*, pp. 10-11.

96 G. M. Bongard-Levin, *The Origin of the Aryans* (New Delhi, 1980), pp. 47-67 describes the Indian and Iranian traditions about the northern mountains, comparing High Hara with a putative Rhip mountain in the *Rig Veda*, mount Meru in the later *Mahabharata*, and the Rhipaeen mountains of Greek mythology.

97 A. J. Carnoy, "Iranian Mythology," pp. 277-78, 280; Boyce, *Textual Sources*, pp. 11, 16-17.

98 G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Origin*, pp. 48-49, 67, 99-101, 115.

99 A. J. Carnoy, "Iranian Mythology," pp. 299-300. Metal imagery pervades the *Avesta*. According to the *Bundahishn* xxiv.1 when the first human, Gaya Maretan ("Human Life") died, his body became molten brass, while the metals gold, silver, iron, tin, lead, quick-silver and adamant arose from his limbs. "Gold was Gaya's seed, which was entrusted to the earth and carefully preserved by Spenta Armaiti, the guardian of earth. After forty years it brought forth the first human pair, Mashya and Mashyoi," Carnoy, p. 294; A flood of molten metal will burn up evil at the end of time, *ibid.*, p. 262; K. D. Irani, "Socioeconomic Implications," p. 68 writes: "Metallurgy, though a technology, was in its early days associated with sacred lore and the invocation of occult forces. Its techniques, particularly the manufacture of steel arms, were for obvious reasons protected by shrouds of secrecy. Some of the technology, requiring the use of furnaces, became the speciality of fire-priests in temples that maintained fire-altars—particularly the techniques of generating fires of varying intensities."

100 A. J. Carnoy, p. 302.

101 G. M. Bongard-Levin, *Origin*, pp. 102-111, 117.

102 G. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland* (Naples, 1980); Boyce, p. 8.

103 A. V. W. Jackson, *Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1899), Appendix IV, pp. 182-225; J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta* (Paris, 1892-93) ii, pp. 5-6 identified Airyanem Vaejah with Arran, the modern Karabagh; A. J. Carnoy, pp. 307, 364 n. 15; L. H. Gray, "Blest, Abode of the (Persian)," *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, v. 2 pp. 702-4; K. D. Irani, "Socioeconomic Implications," pp. 60, 63.

104 Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 40-47. Jackson (pp. 220-21) also accepted the identification of the Hyaonians with the Chionites, placed west of the Caspian Sea by Spiegel, de Lagarde, and Wilhelm. Allen associated the Hyaonians with Aia, see note 16 above.

105 A. A. MacDonnell, *Vedic Mythology* (N.Y. 1974; repr. of 1897 ed), p. 29. Rasa is mentioned in *Rig Veda* 10.121; Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 40-41.

106 Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 196-97 considered Daitya to be the Sped or Safed Rud (Kizil Uzen) in Azerbaijan, though Justi and Darmesteter thought it was the Kur or Arax. Boyce preferred the Jaxartes, Markwart, the Volga. See Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland*, pp. 53-57.

107 G. Widengren, "The Mithraic Mysteries in the Graeco-Roman World with Special Regard to their Iranian background," *La Persia e il mondo grecoromano Accad. Naz. dei Lincei* 76(1966), pp. 444-45; I. M. Diakonoff, *Phrygian* (Delmar, N.Y., 1985), p. xv suggests that the western Mithra might have originally been the Urartian Haldi.

108 A. J. Carnoy, pp. 287-88.

109 Gnoli, p. 26.